5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry. 000
Some traces of sporadic drudgery labor by captives taken in warfare 567
or raids appear, but slavery as a developed permanent institution can hardly be said to have been present. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* served at times as middlemen in slave trading with the Spaniards.

ETIQUETTE

It was de rigueur for a visitor, guest, or official messenger to carry 576
out with his host a long series of more or less formalized questions, answers, comments, and compliments, before business or general conversation opened. A guest was supposed to eat all the food set before him. The common salutation on meeting was "mari mari." The weeping salutation between kin and friends, on the return, for instance, from a journey, is recorded by Guevara Silva (1908, p. 63). It was impolite to interrupt a person who was talking, or to pass directly in front of him or to pass between two people conversing without apologizing. One of the most common courtesies was to drink toasts to friends, sharing the drink with them. Before entering a hut, the visitor was supposed to knock; he entered only after an invitation to enter was received from the head of the house.

Among the many common insulting terms were "ghost," "dog," "toad," and, worst of all, "sorcerer." (Havestadt, 1883, 1:398; cf. L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. goyde; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:221; fuller list, including many grosser insults, in Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 50–56.)

Hospitality was always given to friend and stranger, as a recognized custom.

In more recent times at least, one of the highest courtesies or honors that could be conferred was the awün (awn), which consisted of riding around a person whom the group wished to honor and of shouting at the same time. (See also table etiquette supra under Eating p. 706).

Personal cleanliness was cultivated through daily bathing in the 515
rivers or streams, even in wintertime, a custom indulged in also by the women and having for both young and old the further purpose of preserving health and strengthening the body. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* were excellent swimmers and divers. The bark of kollai [481]
(quillay, *Quillaja saponaria*) was used in place of soap to wash the hair. Nevertheless, lice were abundant, a common method of disposing of them being that of killing them with the hands or teeth and eating them. Considerable efforts were also made to keep huts and cooking utensils clean.

WARFARE

Warfare in the sense of feuds and battles between *Araucanian* 721
groups themselves was common.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of his equipment and his inability to dodge through the forest undergrowth, did not have a chance for his life.[25]

The idea of Indians running down horses is not as incredible as it at first seems. In the heat of summer, when most of the fighting took place, the Spanish mounts tired quickly, especially after the long trip to the Indian ambuscade. Besides this, the Araucanians were accustomed to hunting wild game by literally chasing it to death. This required a tireless trot, at which they were proficient. Profiting by the lessons of their own strategy, the Araucanians devised an extremely light saddle in order to increase the endurance of their mounts on long rides. When they used captured Spanish saddles they first cut them down so as to make them considerably lighter.[26]

Shortly after the turn of the century, by 1611 to be exact, the Indians developed a cavalry that in terms of mobility was superior to the Spanish. They likewise possessed the best horses in the whole of Chile. These advantages were demonstrated in more daring raids on Spanish towns and a willingness to meet the Spanish cavalry on its own ground.[27] From this time forward the war passed into a new phase in which Araucanian offensive power became an increasingly significant factor. The source of that power, of course, lay in mastery of the horse. In little more than a generation the animal from which the Indians had once fled in terror had been incorporated into their culture, transforming it into a factor of defiant military power, dedicated to the eradication of Spanish culture. The Spaniards were not only dismayed to recognize this development of Araucanian military strength, but were piqued as well at the sight of barbarous savages riding horses with an air of equality. In answer to Spanish resentment the Indians pledged never to quit their war for freedom and their horses to enter serfdom on foot.[28]

The existence of a skilled and effective military force bespeaks the presence of a comparable political organization under whose genius it is formed and directed. In the development of Araucanian political organization the chronicles indicate two major forces at work: the geographical particularism in which the Araucanians traditionally lived and a counter-force provoked by the presence of the enemy and inclining towards Araucanian unity. Throughout the first century

25 Marmolejo, pp. 40-43, 47-49. These are but representative of many such descriptions.

26 Nájera, pp. 42, 110-116. Cooper (p. 704) gives the impression that Indian saddles and riding gear were nothing more than crude imitations of Spanish models.

27 Nájera, pp. 107-110; "Informe de Juan de Xaraquemada," May 1, 1611 (Gay, II, p. 239); Xaraquemada to King, Jan. 29, 1611 and Jan. 28, 1612 (*idem*, pp. 247, 253-257); Alonso García Ramón to King, 1613 (*idem*, p. 267).

28 Nájera, p. 116. Whenever the Indians found it necessary or advisable to grant a temporary peace, the Spaniards first insisted that they turn in their horses and move about on foot, as subject persons were expected to do. The Indians invariably turned in their *rocinantes*, keeping their good stock hidden for use after the next rebellion (*idem*, p. 128).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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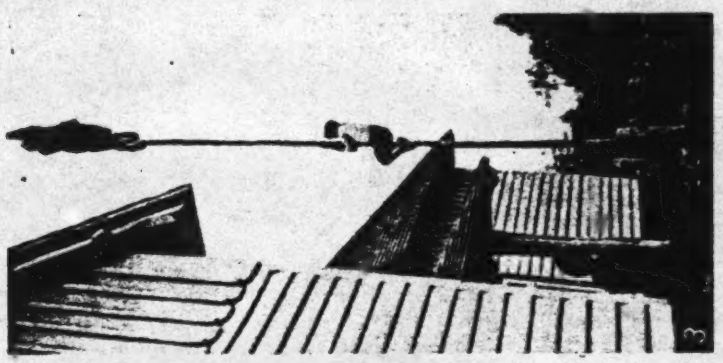

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Alamte schoolboys: 1, Boy at right making a kunkul from the blades of a chupón; boy at left blowing into a completed one. 2, Boy about to ride home at the close of a school fiesta. (Note his carrying bag and the saddle and stirrup.) 3, Climbing the school flagpole.

[p. 28(F)]

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226 sitting on rocks at the shore, waiting for the men. If the catch is large, they assist in preparing the fish for market—their duty is to clean thoroughly the cavity of the fish after the men have removed the visceral contents. During my visit three men landed with a small catch—a day's work (pl. 41, *1*, *2*); one had taken seven fish; each of the others, two. Since the catch was small, the women merely looked on while the men pulled in their boat, washed their nets, and cleaned [482] the fish. A whiskbroomlike implement of esparto was used in the cleaning. Fish are carried home in netted bags called wilal.

In former times fishing in Andean streams was usually done at night. Fish, attracted by the light of a torch held over the water's edge, were grabbed at the underside of the head and dropped into a pouch suspended from the fisherman's neck. Kauke (a species of mackerel) were most easily caught in this way. Today, fishing in streams is done with hook and line.

Women take from the Pacific such shellfish as macha, loko, mañihue, piure, and ariso. Collecting shellfish is called l'afkentun. Macha bury themselves under the sand. To collect them the woman walks into a sandy place not far from the water's edge, plants a stick in the sand, supports herself by leaning upon it with both hands, and digs both feet into the sand, moving them back and forth until she feels the macha, which she then digs out by hand.

Loko and mañihue attach themselves firmly to rocks near the water's edge and are pried loose with a crowbarlike iron implement. One used by a woman was 13 inches long, ¼ inch thick, 3 inches wide at prying end; with it she loosened the shellfish from all sides; "it is best to detach them from the bottom last, so that you can catch them [482] as they fall." Shellfish, too, are carried home in wilal.

TRANSPORTATION

484 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 712), the Araucanians had no roads, only trails; bridges (kuikui), consisting of one or several logs, spanned small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal. Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, the horse was used for land transportation.

[487] Today anyone wishing to go a short distance, "to the neighbors or 481 to the brook or the woods nearby," walks. From every ruka footpaths 482 lead in several directions—one always leads to the source of water supply. A woman on foot carries light-weight things, maybe vegetables and ears of grain or herbs, in either a basket (pls. 47, *3*;

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50, *1* and *3*) or a wilal (pl. 58, *1*), a netted carrying bag (pp. 234-235); occasionally she carries things in her apron. Heavy loads, such as bark or pieces of wood used in dyeing, she carries on her back in a wilal suspended by a headband; bundles of grain, either in her arms or on her head. 481 482

Men on foot carry things under the arm or slung over the shoulder (pl. 54, *2*). Small things they carry in a wilal; in the early days they also used sacks made of hides. A child is transported for a short distance in its mother's or father's arms.

Children walk to school. They were seen carrying bundles of wheat on the head (pl. 35, *2*) and wood in the arms (pl. 11, *3*). Little girls transported small children on their backs (pl. 5, *3*). A boy carried grass for his chicks in his poncho (pl. 7, *2*).

Long distances are generally traveled on horseback, and heavy loads are either carried by horses or are hauled by oxen. Unless the family is very poor, every man and woman and every child old enough to ride owns a riding horse. In Alepúe area three families owned no horse; in Cofiaripe area, two. 483 492

All Araucanians ride horseback astride—adults, in saddles; children in saddles only when old enough to ride a long distance alone. When playing around on horseback, or on errands in the area, or on short journeys, children usually ride bareback, holding onto the mane. Children too young to sit astride on a horse or to ride a horse alone on long journeys sit in the saddle in front of father or mother or behind their saddle on the horse's buttocks. 492

The saddletree is made of wood. (Cf. pls. 12, *2*, and 38, *2*, for saddles.) In order to give the rider security in ascending and descending steep embankments, hills, and mountainsides, the saddle has a bow front and back. Folded sheep pelts are used to cushion the saddle and over these a piece of woven cloth is placed—formerly it was a choapino, a thickly woven, hooked and fringed cloth of wool (pl. 59, *3*). An occasional rider uses a choapino today; in general, those made today are sold, to good advantage, to Chileans who use them as throws. To protect the horse's back, pieces of woolen cloth, tightly woven like ponchos, are placed under the saddle. Belts of horsehide are used to secure the saddle on the horse's back. Stirrups are attached to the saddle with leather bands that can be adjusted to the length of the rider's legs; today these are of wood decorated with carvings (pls. 12, *2*; 38); spurs are of metal; bits, if used, of wood; reins and headstalls, of leather. Blinds have never been used. Formerly all metal parts of a man's saddle gear, such as stirrups, spurs, and bits, were of silver, and all leather parts were trimmed with silver, unless he was

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Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, *e*).

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today.

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth.

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Olul, someone whom no one ever saw

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either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of paico used by hotels in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a handwoven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long handwoven belt, 30 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S. dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to tourists, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chinquilihuen each fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and luggage. (Cf. pp. 274-275 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the bone was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

The introduction of the oxcart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all oxcart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, *2*).

Snowshoes, known as chigua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (tranu), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chigua were made by tying together the ends of a colihue stalk to form an oval-shaped band and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chigua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called wampu. The trunk of the tree known as rauli was preferred in making wampu. A spatula-shaped one in Museo Nahuel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called tani. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,